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The Suffragist

OFFICIAL WEEKLY ORGAN OF
THE NATIONAL WOMAN'S PARTY

SATURDAY, MAY 26, 1917

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Drawn by Nina E. Allender

Bricks Without Straw

Uncle Sam—"You Must Feed Him"

National Woman's Party

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OBJECT: TO SECURE AN AMENDMENT TO THE UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION ENFRANCHISING WOMEN

MEMBERSHIP: Open to all women who, regarding woman suffrage as the foremost political issue of the day, will support it irrespective of the interests of any national political party.

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Notes of the Week

Appeal to Women on War Food Problem

MR. HOOVER, probable food administrator, will ask help from women as important factors in the problem that will face him if appointed to this work. This problem he says requires the best thought of the country to devise a way of making stable the prices of the great common foods, at a balance that will stimulate production and at the same time reduce costs to prevent social disturbances that cause loss of national efficiency.

He names four administrative branches he thinks needed to work out this problem—national executive bodies to regulate staples, the co-operation of federal and state administrations in one body in each state, the co-operation of the United States with our allies, and "the equally important department of domestic economy." In regard to this branch, he says:

"As 90 per cent of the ultimate food consumption of the country is in the hands of the women we will shortly place before them a plan of organization including policies as to the elimination of wastes, the substitution of local commodities for those from further afield, the substitution of overabundant commodities for those which we wish to export to our allies, and instruction in the intelligent purchase and use of foodstuffs.

"There is no service in this war in which the women of the country can so well enlist as in this service, and the success of the food administration will rest very largely upon the support which we receive from them."

The absurdity of women's position as responsible food managers has never been more clearly shown up than by Mr. Hoover's clear analysis of the question of food distribution—ninety per cent important in the one department of results and absolutely shut out of the three branches of control. Results are all that can concern them, disfranchised, and while they save pennies in crusts and parings dollars are eaten up in rising costs of flour and potatoes.

Women want a voice in causes. The first step in this organization of women for food control should be the passage of the federal suffrage amendment.

A Letter from the President

PRESIDENT WILSON this week sent a letter to Chairman Webb of the House Judiciary Committee insisting upon the necessity of a censorship clause in the spy bill now before Congress.

The Senate by a big majority had struck out this section of the bill. The provision was written into the House bill by a narrow margin just before it was sent to conference. This is one of the differences between House and Senate that made necessary a conference on the measure lasting over a week without agreement.

The Republicans of the House in caucus on May 21 voted almost unanimously to oppose the spy bill if the censorship clause were included—which would have ensured the defeat of the bill in the House if the President had not sent his mandatory letter to Mr. Webb as soon as he heard of it. Because of this letter Mr. Webb announced that he would wage a determined fight for the censorship amendment.

Every effort will undoubtedly be made to whip the Democratic Party into line to follow the President's lead in this matter. Just a letter from the head of his Party will work wonders in "creating sentiment." Suffrage seems to be the only question President Wilson dare not act on.

War Casualties

ON May 19 two United States nurses were killed on board an armed merchantman, the Mongolia, during practise firing. These women, Mrs. Edith Ayres and Miss Helen Wood of Chicago, were on the staff of a hospital unit bound for service in France. During the firing a shell exploded prematurely. The explanation of the accident offered by the Navy Department, based on two former explosions of the same kind, is that old Spanish War shells were used in new guns. It has been decided that only shells made since 1900 can now be used.

These are not the first American women to lose their lives in this war. 118 women munition makers were killed in the Eddystone factory explosion last April. Women are killed by war though they still have no power to direct its waging.

Prohibition as a War Measure

PROHIBITION, rejected as part of the spy bill, is again before Congress as a war issue of the greatest importance. It is included in the Administration's food control bill offered the House this week by the committee on agriculture and now in the Senate committee. One section of this bill, which gives the President complete power over the food, clothing and fuel supply of this country, authorizes him to forbid the use of grains and other food materials for making alcoholic drinks whenever he finds such prohibition essential to the edequate supply of food.

Federal suffrage as a war measure is more important than prohibition. It could just as easily be made an administration measure as prohibition, and passed during this session.

Child Labor

A MOVEMENT to suspend the child labor law during the war is on in Congress. Conferences summoned by certain Southern Senators, led by Senator Overman of North Carolina, started the question on the plea that children must fill in when the selective draft draws men from fields and factories. There is a movement as well to exempt children from school for this work.

The attempt to break down protective laws for women and children in industry was almost the first move made by some state legislatures after war was declared. New York and Pennsylvania were notable for this. The Department of Labor of course opposes any of these retrogressive changes and is pointing out in its bulletins that all the experience of England since war points to the waste and danger of child labor.

French Suffrage Congress

THE Congress of the *Union Francaise pour le Suffrage des Femmes* was recently held in Paris. The question of the municipal vote now pending in the French parliament was the chief topic of discussion. Energetic action from women to force the Universal Suffrage Commission of the Chamber of Deputies to keep its promises for this degree of enfranchisement was called for by speakers and enthusiastically promised. This resolution was drawn up:

"That this congress, considering that it is just to give woman her share in the responsibility of the political life of the counry; that what Frenchwomen have accomplished during the war is of a nature to convince the most disbelieving of their aptitude to exercise the rights claimed; that the reorganizaion of the country after the war cannot be complete without the collaboration of women; insists on the necessity for bringing M. Flandin's report before the Chamber as soon as possible so that women may be able to take part in the forthcoming Municipal Councils."

The English Suffrage Bill

THE Franchise Reform Bill in England has passed its second reading in the House of Commons by a vote of 329 to 40. The vote followed a ten-day debate given up mostly to the woman suffrage provisions of the measure. The putting through of the bill, which will enfranchise six million women, is now practically certain.

In moving the second reading of the bill Sir George Cave, Home Secretary, pointed out to the opponents of women's enfranchisement that the government, "having called upon women for so large a contribution to the work of carrying on the war and having received so splendid a response, could not refuse them a voice in moulding the future of the country which their help and self-sacrifice have done so much to save."

Frivolous Democracy

TEN days ago Count Tisza, Hungarian Premier, was reported to have defied the demands of working-men in that country for universal suffrage. The demand culminated in a great general strike, the report said, orderly and determined in character. Count Tisza replied to the people that the movement for universal suffrage was frivolous.

Cables from Budapest now announce the resignation of Tisza's cabinet as a result of the unrest in Hungary. No doubt the Count will have further evidences of the force of this frivolous movement borne in upon him.

At the Home of the President

By Beulah Amidon

From the Birmingham Age-Herald, Sunday, May 6, 1917

IT was a nasty, blustery February morning, with a wind whipping down Pennsylvania Avenue that I am sure blew straight from Hudson Bay. I fought my way across Lafayette Square, down Madison Place, to the fine old mansion with the purple, white and gold flag flying from the balcony and National Woman's Party above the door.

I hurried into the famous "Little White House" just before ten o'clock and found the big general office full of women, all hurrying and all talking rapidly.

"I haven't been down to the line for a week;" "I wanted so much to come the day Julia Marlowe was here;" "Have you two right gloves? Mine are both lefts;" "I know I left my arctics here——" While they talked the women were bundling themselves into great coats and sweaters and mufflers and arctics and big, woolly gray gloves, and Miss Virginia Arnold, the executive secretary, bustled through the seeming chaos, hunting up lost articles, looking to mufflers and furs and taking particular care of the many women who had not picketed before.

The center of interest that morning was a tiny white-haired woman whose eyes were the wide, bright eyes that belong to people who never grow old. "It's Dr. Olympia Brown," Miss Arnold told me, as she adjusted the purple, white and gold regalia over my big fur collar. And so this was Olympia Brown, who, in spite of her 82 years, is working valiantly for suffrage, as she worked when she and Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton were doing the first hard pioneer work. And now she had traveled all the way from Wisconsin to stand on the picket line in the demand of women for political liberty.

AT last everyone was ready. At five minutes before ten o'clock the long line formed and marched out from Cameron House, each woman taking a banner as she passed the stack of them in the vestibule. Some of the banners were streamers of purple, white and gold. Others were great gold standards, that read, "Mr. President, how long must American women wait for liberty?" The line of women crossed the square, marched down Pennsylvania Avenue and took up positions, half at one gate and half at the other.

I stood by the east entrance, right beside the gate. Three policemen were on guard there, and the gate was open. That meant that the President was going out. Beside me was a girl from a downtown office, who had gotten an hour off to picket. Beside her was a prominent New York society woman. Next to her stood Mrs. Florence Bayard Hilles of Delaware, daughter of a former ambassador to the Court of St. James. There were twenty of us at that gate, all kinds of women, business, society, professional, but all there for just one thing: to make a demand for political freedom.

Presently Smith came along. Smith was a very useful institution on the picket line, as I was to learn. He wheeled a barrow full of lumpy things, wrapped in burlap and how I learned to bless those lumps! They were hot bricks and a hot brick is about the most comfortable thing you can stand on when it is February on Pennsylvania Avenue. But the crowds interested me, even more than Smith.

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MOSTLY they passed by, busy on their own affairs, reading the banners as they passed. I was amazed at the number of men who raised their hats as they passed, a silent tribute to the suffrage cause. A civil war veteran, with the G. A. R. button in his lapel, brought his hand stiffly to salute as he walked down the line. A woman clerk hurried by from the State, War and Navy Building, a bundle of papers in her hand. "I'm with you," she called gaily.

A limousine drew up by the curb, and a lovely woman, the sort of woman you can't help liking instantly, stepped out. "You look cold—please won't you sit in my car and get warm, and let me hold the banner?" For five minutes I was glad to cuddle down among her fur robes, while she stood proudly on the picket line. Then she got in her car and rolled away.

The next woman who paused was not that sort of woman. I think, from her attitude, she meant us to infer that she was an anti, or else one of those short-sighted suffragists who waste their energy opposing other perfectly sincere suffragists, instead of opposing those who oppose suffrage.

But now the policemen stood at rigid attention. A car came down the driveway from the White House; Miss Margaret Wilson, with her cousin, Miss Helen Bones, turned to smile her gracious smile and to wave to the picketers. Miss Wilson has long been an ardent suffragist.

A California congressman paused to speak to me. I had met him in Los Angeles, where I have a voting residence, and I am one of his constituents. "I'm for you," he said heartily, "and you're on the right track. Keep reminding people of suffrage—you'll get it if you don't let them forget it. Seen Hi Johnson (Senator from California) yet? I hear he's in town."

Now a great, green limousine was turning in the driveway, followed by an open car filled with men. I looked up full in the eyes of the nation's chief. Such a grave, lined face—and then, suddenly, the golf cap was raised in salutation, the face broke into a sudden smile, and the President of the United States had passed by.

FOR seven weeks this picket continued, entirely volunteer, a fresh shift every hour, or, in bitter cold weather every half-hour, and in that time women from thirty-one states, from every walk in life, had helped in the dramatic demand for suffrage for women. "They" said it was impossible, that women would tire of it, that they never could keep it up—and yet from the 10th of January until the 4th of March, every hour from ten in the morning until five in the afternoon, pickets at the White House gates were relieved by fresh pickets, who came, with high-held banners from that teeming headquarters across the square.

The first time I picketed it was a joyous lark. The second time I began to think of the long, long years that this same demand had been made—and the third time—the third time there arose in me hot rebellion that women should have to go on and on and on and on, giving precious energy, vitality, ability to secure this measure of simple justice. Such a stupid, and such a heartbreaking waste!

For seven weeks women stood silently at the gate of the White House and focused the attention of the nation upon the fact that nation-wide suffrage for women is in the hands of the President. What he did for child labor and federal good roads and the Panama canal tolls and conscription, he can do for suffrage at any time. It was a simple question that we asked, but it was necessary that the nation should know that there is just one person who can answer it. When the great leader of the nation speaks, it will be answered.

"Mr. President, how long must women wait for liberty?"

NOTE: After Miss Amidon left Washington the picket, suspended while Congress was not in session, was resumed at the White House and begun at the House and Senate entrance of the Capitol when the extra session opened on April 2.

Belva A. Lockwood

MRS. BELVA A. LOCKWOOD, pioneer worker for the federal amendment, died this week in Washington at the age of 86. Associated with Susan B. Anthony and other early suffrage workers, she was one of the last of that generation still living to see some of the hopes of those forerunners of freedom for women working out into practice in this.

Mrs. Lockwood's death occurred on May 19 after a long illness. A memorial service was held on Monday at Wesley Chapel in Washington, to which many women came from the organizations with which she was closely associated. The National Woman's Party was so representated with a delegation headed by Mrs. W. Thompson Burch, chairman of the District of Columbia branch; and other large delegations from the Woman's Bar Association, the Press Association, the National American Woman Suffrage Association, and the Woman's Christian Temperance Union came to do honor to a woman always in the front rank of the fight for women's advancement. At this service Bishop Hamilton, Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, and other speakers recalled the achievements of Mrs. Lockwood's long life.

BELVA LOCKWOOD'S life was a specially forceful and picturesque one. She had the dramatic distinction of being the first woman candidate for President in this country, and the first woman lawyer to practice before the Supreme Court of the United States.

She started her struggle for women's rights when she was left a widow at twenty-four with a child to support and found she could earn as teacher only eight dollars a week, while men doing the same work got twice as much or more. She protested to the trustees, to the town, and then gave up the job to get further education. She studied at Genessee College, New York; became proceptress of several seminaries; took an A. M. at Syracuse; and finally studied law just after the Civil War at the National University Law School in Washington. A long controversy opened the way to her at the age of forty-nine to practice

Belva A. Lockwood

before the Supreme Court; and she at once drew up a bill to give the same right to other women lawyers and pushed it through Congress after a three-year struggle. Since that time she has been constantly active as a lawyer in the Capital, winning several notable legal battles, and at the same time always busy in the cause of suffrage, peace, prohibition, labor and other reforms.

She had also charge of the bringing up of her grandson, DeForest Orme, her one surviving relative, with whom her relations were increasingly close as she grew older and outlived other relatives and friends.

IN 1872 Mrs. Lockwood supported Susan B. Anthony in her attempt to vote under the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, and was one of the committee at the National Convention in 1873 that drew up resolutions to Congress protesting against Miss Anthony's prosecution for this act. In 1876 she was one of the speakers at the great meeting assembled just after Miss Anthony had persisted in presenting to the Centenial Commission in Philadelphia the Woman's Declaration of Rights which the Commission was stubbornly bent on ignoring and had refused to receive.

In 1884 and in 1887 Belva Lockwood was nominated to the presidency of the United States by the Equal Rights Party; and the candidacy of such a woman served brilliantly to bring the federal amendment for suffrage before the country as it never had been brought before.

She was three times delegate to the International Peace Congress in Paris, in London and in Rome, each time presenting important papers on peace and arbitration.

In the Congressional Union demonstration of May 9, 1914, Mrs. Lockwood, then 83 years old, stood at the head of the Capitol steps to wait for the procession, joined the leaders as the great deputation of five hundred women mounted, and went in with them to present the resolutions to Congress. Her interest in the federal amendment fight was keen to the end of her life, and she was a familiar figure at Congressional Union hearings, conventions and meetings until she became too frail for these efforts.

Mrs. Eleanor Carlisle Becomes California Chairman

MRS. IDA FINNEY MACKRILLE, whose resignation as state chairman of the California branch of the Woman's Party was necessitated by her own work, has been succeeded by Mrs. Eleanor Carlisle of Berkeley, California, one of the well-known figures in the political and civic activities of women in San Francisco and the Bay Cities. Mrs. Carlisle has been legislative chairman for California, working with Mrs. Mackrille. While the resignation of Mrs. Mackrille, whose work during the campaign in California was brilliant and effective, will be felt, Mrs. Carlisle brings to her new work a deep sense of the injustice shown by the government to women at this time, and a thorough knowledge of state conditions.

Mrs. Carlisle has undertaken a legislative campaign in the state on behalf of the federal amendment which will bring the position of the war Congress in withholding justice to women before all the women's organizations of the state. The petition which is being circularized among all members of organizations was drawn up by Miss Gail Laughlin, member of the California executive board; and among the large group of women who have undertaken the big task of securing endorsements are Mrs. Frederick Thompson, Mrs. Sara Bard Field, Mrs. William B. Broadwell and Mrs. William Briggs. Committees are being appointed to take charge of the various sections of California.

Miss Margaret Whittemore and Miss Margery Ross, the national organizers who have just left California for Oregon, report that Senator Phelan's record against the federal suffrage amendment is a sore point in the minds of California women, who are planning a concerted campaign against him. This campaign was discussed at the last meeting held by the organizers in Kentfield, Marin County, at the Woman's Club House. Following the meeting the California Board was entertained by Mrs. Johannes Webb, chairman of that district. Miss Clara Louise Rowe of Montana, who is at present in San Francisco, is lending vital aid to these California activities, planning a series of short organization trips for next month that will radiate from San Francisco. Miss Whittemore and Miss Ross, "Fording through the suffrage states," as the newspapers put it, will spend the next two weeks in Oregon, where a state conference will be held, followed by activities in Washington, with Seattle as the headquarters.

THE SUSAN B. ANTHONY AMENDMENT

Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States extending the right of suffrage to women.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article be proposed to the legislatures of the several States as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of the said legislatures, shall be valid as part of said Constitution, namely:

"ARTICLE—SEC. 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

"SEC. 2. Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provisions of this article."

THE AMENDMENT IN THE SIXTY-FIFTH CONGRESS

Introduced

In the Senate, on April 4, 1917, by Senators Thompson, Owen, Jones and Shafroth.
In the House, on April 2, 1917 by Representatives Raker, Rankin, Mondell, Keating and Hayden.

Referred

In the Senate, to the Committee on Woman Suffrage.
In the House, to the Judiciary Committee.

Present Status

In the Senate
Before the Committee on Woman Suffrage.
In the House
Before the Judiciary Committee.

HISTORY OF THE AMENDMENT

Drafted

In its present form, by Susan B. Anthony in 1875.

First Introduced

January 10, 1878, by Hon. A. A. Sargent, in the Senate.

Reported from Committee

In the Senate
1878, Adverse majority.
1879, Favorable minority.
1882, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1884, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1886, Favorable majority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1892, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1896, Adverse majority.
1913, Favorable majority.
1914, Favorable majority.
1916, Favorable majority.

In the House
1883, Favorable majority.
1884, Adverse majority, favorable minority.
1886, Favorable minority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1894, Adverse majority.
1914, Without recommendation.
1916. Without recommendation.

Voted Upon

In the Senate
January 25, 1887. Yeas 16, nays 34. Absent 26 (of whom 4 were announced as for and 2 against).
March 19, 1914. Yeas 35, nays 34, failing by 11 of the necessary two-thirds vote.

In the House
January 12, 1915. Yeas 174, nays 204, failing by 78 of the necessary two-thirds vote.

The Suffragist

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The Woman Suffrage Committee

THE past week has been marked by the taking up by democratic leaders of the question of creating a special committee in the House of Representatives on woman suffrage. The President has written to Mr. Pou, Chairman of the Rules Committee, stating his approval of a suffrage committee. Mr. Pou has called his committee together to consider a rule creating such a committee and has accorded a hearing on the subject to suffragists.

A special committee in the House, similar to that existing in the Senate, is of some slight advantage in piloting suffrage through Congress. Suffragists have asked for such a committee from the time they first began work on Congress. Since Congress has committees on all other important subjects before it and even on subjects of unimportance, such as the "Committee on the Disposition of Useless Executive Papers," it seems reasonable that there should be a suffrage committee. Otherwise the suffrage resolution goes before the Judiciary Committee, where it is difficult for it to obtain consideration. It would seem that no agitation for such a committee should have been necessary—that the presence of the suffrage amendment before Congress would have led to the immediate formation of a committee to deal with it.

However, while such a committee would be a convenience in conducting the measure through the routine steps in Congress, suffragists will not be in the least satisfied by the mere creation of this committee. They are interested in the passage of the amendment and not in the simplification of the machinery connected with its passage unless this simplification is followed by the passage.

President Wilson could as easily have written to the Suffrage Committee in the Senate and the Judiciary Committee in the House, advocating the immediate report of the suffrage resolution, as to have advised the creation of another committee to report on the subject.

The President has led us into war for "the things," to quote his own words, "we have always carried nearest to our hearts, for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own governments." Yet when a delegation representing all the liberal political groups in the United States asks, in the interest of democracy at home, for his support of the national suffrage amendment he suggests a committee to investigate the subject! Millions of lives and millions of dollars for democracy abroad—a committee to investigate democracy for this country! Mr. Wilson must go much further and that very quickly if he desires the unenfranchised population at home to follow his leadership in the cause of democracy for other parts of the globe.

Rules Committee Meets President's Suggestion

FOR the first time since December, 1913, a hearing before the Rules Committee of the House of Representatives was granted suffragist bodies on the question of the creation of a Suffrage Committee in the House. Women have worked for this Committee since the days of Susan B. Anthony to expedite action on suffrage in the more unwieldy body of Congress.

The Woman's Party, the National American Woman Suffrage Association, and a group of Congressmen from the suffrage states, including Representative Raker of California, the father of the measure, were heard by the full Committee with Chairman Pou presiding. The meeting was open to the public, and the Democratic Caucus room of the House office building which was used for the hearing was crowded with women representing many states of the Union.

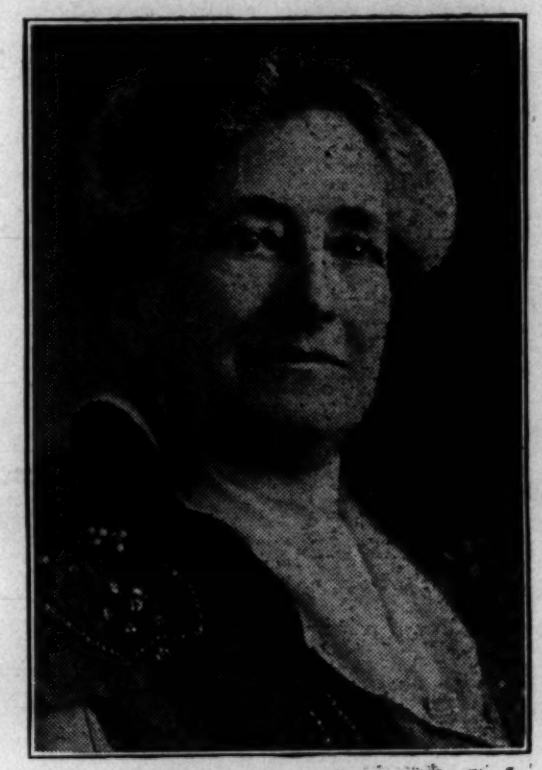
The fact that Chairman Pou had received a letter from President Wilson a few days before favoring the creation of a suffrage committee—the first sign of specific interest the President has ever shown in the federal suffrage amendment which has been before his administration for more than four years, actively supported by men and women all over the country and by all political parties—was incisively brought out at the hearing.

The National American Woman Suffrage Association read two letters from absent leaders, favoring the creation of this Committee. Mrs. Maude Park of Boston read a letter to Champ Clark, the Speaker of the House, from Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, head of the National Association; Mrs. Helen Gardner of Washington, D. C., read a letter from Dr. Anna Howard Shaw to the President, asking his support. Both Dr. Shaw and Mrs. Catt, it was announced, were absent on business of the Council of National Defense of which they are both members.

The Congressmen who spoke briefly for the formation of a suffrage committee were Raker of California, Miss Rankin of Montana, Taylor of Colorado, McArthur of Oregon, Hayden of Arizona, Keating of Colorado, Mondell of Wyoming, and O'Shaughnessy of Rhode Island, the latter urging a suffrage measure for the first time on behalf of his newly enfranchised state. Mr. O'Shaughnessy declared that there was hope for every state in the Union now that Rhode Island had waked up. "I have always regarded women as human beings. I never have needed to go farther than that to justify woman suffrage; and I favor the creation of this committee for the same reason," he declared.

Miss Anne Martin of Nevada, vice-chairman of the National Woman's Party, in speaking for the creation of a Committee her organization has been working for since 1913, stated that the Woman's Party, as the Congressional Union, was organized at the beginning of the Wilson administration for the sole purpose of winning the constitutional amendment which has become known as the Susan B. Anthony amendment. She introduced Miss Maud Younger of California, Miss Mabel Vernon of Nevada and Mrs. Richard Wainwright, wife of Admiral Wainwright, as speakers for her organization.

MISS YOUNGER told of the past fight of the Congressional Union for a House Suffrage Committee. She dwelt upon the existence of Party Government—the fact that the party in power controls committees and could secure the passage of the federal suffrage amendment with the same ease that it could create a suffrage committee. She said that the President's recommendation of a suffrage committee was merely a "step in the right direction."



Mrs. Richard Wainwright

MRS. WAINWRIGHT made a direct appeal when she said: "I hope you will give to the women of the United States a committee to consider their own affairs. I consider that is purely a national business proposition, and should appeal to you gentlemen who are business men and understand the conditions. When the people are working, serving, and giving their money to the nation in every direction there should be some central committee of business men, a congressional committee, to whom the women can appeal to assist them to gain the things they need to do their part in connection with the business of the United States; the women should have a committee here.

"As I understand it, Mr. McAdoo has asked the women of the country to place the liberty loan. That is a large proposition. Women have been asked to help and assist soldiers and sailors as to their comfort on sea and shore, and to look after their dependent families. We are asked to see that the farms are made more productive. We are appealed to, in short, in a thousand ways to help the nation. We ask you now to stop this frightful waste that has continued in this country for fifty years and more.

"One of the members of the Commission from England said: 'We came to America that America may not make the mistakes that we have.' One of the mistakes that England is now trying to rectify is not giving justice to her women. I should like the Congress of the United States to remember what Wyoming said when asked to join the nation: *'We do not come in without our women'.*"

MISS MABEL VERNON, Secretary of the National Woman's Party, made the final appeal for the creation of the Suffrage Committee, dwelling on the spirit of rebellion that is growing in American women over justice long denied: "Most of us are working for this measure with a feeling of resentment that we are still compelled to work for it. I speak to you with a deep sense of shame for the United States of America that we should be here before the Rules Committee asking for the creation of a Woman Suffrage Committee when, as some one mentioned, women have been asking for national action on suffrage for fifty years.

"Colonel House wrote the other day to New York suffragists that the United States of America must not lag behind European nations in democracy. But, gentlemen, we have lagged behind; and here we are at a time of war, in a great crisis, with the women of this country demanding that some attention be paid by this government to equal rights.

"The United States is lagging far behind the European nations. What we should be doing today is not considering how we shall get a Woman Suffrage Committee which will consider presenting this matter to the House—but how, at this moment, this measure can immediately be driven through the House and the Senate.

"The President himself said to me, 'This matter is constantly pressing upon my mind for reconsideration.' What did he mean? Not as to whether suffrage is a matter for the nation or for the states, but as to whether to put it up to the Congress of the United States to pass this measure immediately. President Wilson recognizes, and you men certainly must recognize, that our country is in a time of reorganization—and one of the important matters which we have to deal with right here at home is the question of justice to the women citizens of our country. Make no mistake."

Heckled by Representative Pat Harrison, of Gulfport, Mississippi, as to the Woman's Party pickets outside the Capitol and the White House, Miss Martin staunchly defended this method of announcing the record of the party in power to men and women of all states and many countries. She declared the picket had succeeded as no other form of propaganda could have succeeded in keeping before the people at this time the fight for national woman suffrage.

The New Freedom in Europe and in America

Speech by Lucy Burns before the House Judiciary Committee, May 15

OUR forces throughout the war will be devoted to securing democracy and liberty for women in this country. We are asked from time to time "Why do you not do Red Cross work?" We are asked that, I hear, by members of your body. It seems to us an astonishing question to ask, even astonishing in time of peace. It seems very remarkable that people should be willing to accept the civic services of women without affording to them the civic opportunities which go with the accomplishment of those duties. But if it is extraordinary in time of peace it is certainly all the more extraordinary in time of war. It is just like eating your cake, and having it, too, it seems to me, to ask that women should fulfill all of their civic obligations and that the men should hold in their hands all the civic opportunities.

One thing, then, is clear in our minds,—that we women must concentrate on the attainment of equal rights for women until those rights are won. We must do it, in the first place, because now is the time of all times to press our demand, when the public conscience is awakened and the invaluable character of the services of women is promptly recognized. We must do it because an organization must grow either stronger or weaker, and if we relax our activities for a month, for half a year, or for a year, it means that the organization which has been built up by the labors of women for the last half century will disappear, that we, who are the custodians of their labors, will be untrue to the trust that has been placed in our hands if we should falter. We are aware that associations of men, gathered together for any social purpose, have not been asked to disband or to cease their activities. We realize that men who have political ends to gain are not asked to relax their activities because the war is on.

IRELAND is pressing for her rights, and I believe she is encouraged in that rebellious stand by a very large percentage of the members of the House of Representatives itself. Men realize very quickly that the men of Ireland ought not to be drafted into the war unless they have the right of self-government.. They maintain that before the full co-operation of all the republics can be expected the republican form of government should be granted to the people of Ireland. If that is true of Irish men, it is equally true of American women.

Now, we have just so much energy and just so much money. That energy and that money are needed right now for the service of the nation in war. We realize that, and we are anxious to give that service, but we have to recognize that if that service is withheld, it is not our responsibility; it is the responsibility of the rulers of the country who deny equal rights to women, rights which we claim should be granted to us before being asked to make any civic sacrifices.

Some of your members suggest that we may attain the right that we are asking through another method. We only have to state to you, as the guardians of the nation's welfare, that the method you suggest, the winning of suffrage for women by amending the constitutions for forty-eight states, one after another, is the most expensive and toilsome method that can be laid upon the shoulders of any section of the community. The money that is needed for the purchase of war bonds and for the carrying on of war will be used to a much greater extent in following out the state method of enfranchising women than could possibly be used in following out the national method of enfranchising women.

We, then, are here as an organized body of women, trained in organized activity, with a fairly adequate financial backing and with a large backing of spiritual support. That support is at the service of the country and can be made available by placing in the hands of the women the right to take part in what is called a "battle for self-government."

ALL through the world, not alone in this nation, but in other nations, after these years of terrific sacrifices and after the slaughter of millions of young people on the battle-fields of Europe, at the behest of governments of European nations, working men and thinking men in the colleges and universities of Europe are asking themselves whether the governments that demand these sacrifices are worth the sacrifices, and are coming in large numbers to the conclusion that the governments of the world, as they are at present constituted, are not worth the sacrifices that they are demanding of the human race.

The people of Russia have already risen against the government that they considered unworthy to call upon them to make these sacrifices, and now the people of Russia are calling upon the people of the whole world to rise up against their governments and asking them, first, to accomplish internal reforms, and, second, to insist upon reasonable terms of peace. Whether we believe in that section of Russian opinion, which controls the fortunes of that nation at the present time, or whether we do not, we have to realize, nevertheless, that they have extraordinary power. There are 180,000,000 people in Russia, and they are a people whose co-operation is absolutely necessary for the success of the Allied nations, including our own; therefore, they are a people which have in their hands the fate of the world at the present time.

Russia is controlled by a section of people who declare that the governments of European nations, including that of England, including that of France, and including our own, have to be reorganized from the bottom up.

I stand here as a representative of an association which takes one stand on one point, and that is that the women of the world should have equal political rights with the men of the world, in whatever country they happen to live; but at the same time I wish to lay before you the fact that the radical sentiment, the Socialistic sentiment, and, as far as that goes, the anarchistic sentiment of the world, is growing at an extraordinary rate on account of the frightful sacrifices that the people, the plain, human people have been called upon to make, and are being called upon to make, and we cannot shut our eyes to that!

THE Socialistic forces in Russia frankly state that they are not allied with the democratic nations at all, because those nations are not really democratic. They say that England is capitalistic, that France is capitalistic, and that the United States is capitalistic, and they are calling upon the people of England, France, and the United States to rise up against their governments, that there may be internal reforms and a better adjustment in the foreign policies of nations.

Now, I state that whether we believe in that sentiment or whether we do not believe in it—and most of the people in the United States do not believe in it—but there is a strong section in the United States, including a majority of American Socialists, who do believe in it, and we are aware of that in New York, where the leaders reside—whether we believe in it, however, or whether we do not, we surely have to agree that the government which calls on the mass of the people to make the last sacrifice of their private happiness has got to set a very high standard for its own conduct, and has got to be a whole lot more honest, a whole lot more liberal, and a whole lot more justice-loving than any government in the world is at the present time.

In view of the very extraordinary character of the sacrifices that the people are being called upon to make, the unreasonable, almost insane sacrifices, and in view of the millions that have been sacrificed on the battle-fields of Europe, the millions that have been mutilated, and the millions of dollars worth of property destroyed—and these sacrifices are continuously being called for—the government that dares to call for them must set a very high standard of justice and liberty for itself. And it cannot maintain that standard while it denies freedom to its own citizens!

The first essential thing for a country to do, if it is to maintain the allegiance of all its people, is to become efficient and to become just; otherwise, the people will not follow, as the people of Russia did not follow their government. The nation that openly refuses justice has no right to exact the allegiance of its citizens nor the sacrifice of the happiness of its citizens, whether they be women or whether they be men.

Alabama Enters the Federal Suffrage Campaign

FOLLOWING a state conference meeting and tea, "one of the largest assemblies of Birmingham suffragists ever held in this city," says the Birmingham *News*, an Alabama branch of the National Woman's Party was formed and an executive committee for the state appointed to begin an active fight for the federal suffrage amendment in Alabama. Unopposed to the federal suffrage principal, Alabama women had not in the past tried to bring any pressure to bear on their own Congressmen to change their four years opposition in Congress to the federal suffrage amendment.

Miss Beulah Amidon, as national organizer for the Woman's Party, opened headquarters at the Tutwiler Hotel in Birmingham three weeks ago and with the help of a local committee sent calls to the Woman's Party conference to members through the state, besides speaking at gatherings of every description to arouse both men and women to the fact that until the men and women of the South entered vigorously into the fight for federal suffrage the measure, so necessary at this time of crisis as a means of protection to women about to be mobilized for industry, could not be forced through Congress.

Miss Amidon was later assisted in her work to reach all classes of women by Mrs. St. Clair Thompson, Southern field secretary of the National Woman's Party; and Miss Alice Paul, national head of the Woman's Party, who is directing the campaign in the South as a whole, spoke at the final conference in Birmingham at which Alabama women demonstrated their willingness to help. Among the organizations that heard the Woman's Party appeal were the Southern College Club, the Volunteer Relief Association, the Alabama Red Cross, the Student's Club, the Chautauqua Clubs, the Music Study Club, the Woodlawn Woman's Club, the Qui Vive Club, the Psychology Club, the United Daughters of the Confederacy, the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, and others. The local women who assisted in the organization of the Conference were Mrs. Felder Furlow, Mrs. J. O. Hannum, Mrs. M. H. Oates, Mrs. T. L. Hill and Miss Etoile White

THE speakers at the conference were Dr. Thomas P. Byrnes, pastor of the Unitarian Church; Miss Beulah Amidon, who talked vividly of the new spirit of militancy that means life in the suffrage movement of today; Mrs. St. Clair Thompson and Miss Paul. Mrs. Thompson as a citizen of the South made a deep impression when she outlined the new place of women today and the dignity of their present demand.

"There is nothing sensational about the advent of women into politics," said Mrs. Thompson. "Our demand for recognition necessarily has become political, and Southern women have the executive ability that is waiting for just such an opening. When I was in Washington lately I met Mr. Heflin, who is supposed to represent you and who has so steadfastly refused to recognize women's demands for freedom. I told Mr. Heflin that though I was glad to meet him again I was sorry he had made no progress so far as the federal suffrage amendment was concerned. He said, 'Yes, I have progressed. I made a speech in Philadelphia recently and I said, 'God bless the women—those who want the vote and those who don't!'

"Mr. Heflin will have to become more radical; the President is getting ahead of him. He now recognizes federal suffrage, and has shown his changed feeling toward the amendment by recommending action to the Rules Committee on the creation of a suffrage committee. You women can force your representatives to follow the President."

Miss Paul as national chairman of the Woman's Party outlined concisely the "suffrage first" policy of the Party and made it plain that the long fight of women for political recognition is nearly over. She mentioned the coming interview of speakers for the federal amendment with the President and predicted correctly his changed attitude: "One thing I do not expect from the President today is an answer like the one he gave four years ago when we first brought federal suffrage to his notice: he said then that he was 'uninformed on the subject.'

"That is what our picket duty at the White House was instituted for—to keep before the President and before the Congress of the United States the issue which Senator Wesley L. Jones recently included as the third clause in the initial steps toward preparedness when he said, 'England and Russia are enfranchising their women in war-time; how long must American women wait for liberty? The three preliminary steps in the prosecution of this war are the raising of an adequate army, nation-wide prohibition and nation-wide woman suffrage.' That looks as if picket duty had not been quite in vain, does it not?

"The President, as I said, has progressed. His second step was to say that he believed in suffrage. Third, he voted for it in New Jersey. Fourth, it was embodied in the Democratic Platform. Now we are waiting impatiently for the final statement of the President on the enfranchisement of women in war-time." The interest in Miss Paul's talk was intense, and she answered questions in regard to the national work for over an hour.

The following executive committee have charge of the initial work in Alabama, and will immediately begin to reach their representatives in Congress through district work: Mrs. H. L. White, chairman; Mrs. J. L. Hannum, Mrs. T. L. Hill, Mrs. Pauline Gillam and Miss Etoile White. Miss White is head of the membership committee and will institute a brisk campaign for the Woman's Party in other parts of the state.

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Comments of the Press

The President's New Attitude

UNIVERSAL woman suffrage by federal enactment, the goal for which the women have been fighting for twenty years, is assured. The constitutional amendment is to be authorized by the present Congress, either during the existing special session, or at the regular session, which convenes in December. This was the message brought direct from the White House to-day by the committee of liberals which has just returned from Washington.

After three-quarters of an hour spent with President Wilson in the first interview he has granted on the suffrage question since his second inauguration, the committee no longer holds any doubt as to the President's attitude.

Further confirmation of the administration's attitude of approval toward the plan for universal woman suffrage was seen in the action of President Wilson to-day in suggesting to Representative Pou of the House Rules Committee the creation of a special committee on woman suffrage as "a wise act of public policy."—*New York Evening Mail, May* 16.

The Evening Post Cautious but Encouraging

UNQUESTIONABLY the European war will bring about many social reforms in Europe—the democratization of the continent. What will it bring about within the United States? There is one reform among the many long sought in this country which seems more certain of fulfillment today than it ever has been. And that is woman suffrage.

The President from the beginning of the war has shown himself to be the champion of world democracy. And with Russia proclaiming universal suffrage as a part of her program, England granting suffrage to women, and American women themselves preparing for tremendous sacrifices to the nation's welfare, it is not strange that he grows more ardently in favor of admitting women to political equality in this, the greatest democracy of them all. It would not be surprising to see the President even express himself in favor of a federal amendment before long.—*New York Evening Post, May* 16.

Alice Paul

ALICE PAUL stands as one of the leaders of the suffrage movement, and is recognized as one of the foremost political thinkers of her generation.

Miss Paul, who graduated from Swarthmore College, and later studied in London and Oxford, is the leader of the active young suffrage organization which works only for the passage of the Susan B. Anthony amendment through Congress, and which holds that suffrage is a political issue, and that it is through the political power of voting women that suffrage will be obtained. It was Miss Paul who opened the first suffrage headquarters ever known in Washington, four years ago, a headquarters that has never been closed for a single day since, though it has moved from the little basement room in F Street, to the historic old Cameron Mansion in Lafayette Square.

Miss Paul, following the example of the Dutch women, organized the "suffrage picket" which stood outside the White House for six weeks, and focused the attention of the nation upon the fact that, as leader of the dominant party, the President could obtain the immediate passage of the Susan B. Anthony amendment, and was not doing so.

From the Washington headquarters, she watches every phase of the suffrage situation in Congress and through the country, and is always busy with plans and preparations for making a demand so irresistible that Congress will no longer delay, but will pass the resolution that will submit the question of suffrage for American women to every state legislature.

Because of her youth, (she is barely 30 now) her self-sacrifice and her remarkable political foresight, Miss Paul has a unique place in the American "woman movement."—*Birmingham, Ala., News, May* 6.

Changed Political Style

THE SUFFRAGIST, as the official organ of the National Woman's Party, reports each week the progress of the picket line that is maintained outside of the White House, in the hope of bringing the President to terms. Somehow it seems to sound a new and personal note in politics when one reads: "Miss Jane Cooper was there, though it was her matinee day as leading lady in 'The Music Master.' Between Helena Hill Weed and Vivian Pierce a yellow banner bore a new message—Mme. Cecile Sartoris and Countess d'Oliveria drove by, the two women from France who are in America arranging a fund for the restoration of the war-stricken monuments of northern France. 'How beautiful,' exclaimed Mme. Sartoris." Imagine the satisfaction of the male politician if he could figure so intimately in an outdoor meeting. How the styles will change politically when all women receive the ballot!—*Lowell, Mass., Evening Citizen, April* 27.

In the Theatre News

THE interest of the week was not confined to the interior of the theatres. "Twenty Thousand Leagues Under the Sea" scattered its points of interest clear through the lobby, embowered with roses, out to the sidewalk itself, where gentlemen in correct submarine attire promenaded. They elicited interest. Some passers-by, who had failed to acquaint themselves with submarine matters, failed to catch the significance and thought they might be White House pickets in a new spring armor.—*The Washington, D. C., Star, May* 20.

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Mrs. Charles V. Meredith	10.00
L. T.	15.00
Mrs. L. Brackett Bishop	5.00
Pennsylvania Branch	500.00
New York City Committee	4.50
Membership fees	5.00
Sale of Tickets	16.00
Total collected by National Headquarters	1,859.60
Previously acknowledged in THE SUFFRAGIST	231,346.32
Total collected by National Headquarters through May 19, 1917	$233,205.92

Contributions Made to New Jersey Headquarters:

Mrs. A. J. Rose	30.00
Miss Cornelia Rose	2.00
Mrs. Harry M. Dean	1.00
Mrs. Morris B. Mead	1.00
Mrs. R. M. Laird	5.90
Miss Constance Grenawalt	10.00
Mrs. Howard P. Boyle	2.00
Mrs. Howard P. Boyle (collected)	3.00
Mrs. George G. Scott	2.05
Mr. J. A. H. Hopkins	375.00
Mrs. Caroline Barnes Wilson	1.00
Mrs. Samuel Metzger	10.00
Landis Township Branch.	2.55
Miss Minnie D. Abbott	1.00
Mrs. Bamford	1.00
Miss Alice Gardner	1.00
Mrs. Julia W. Lacey	1.00
Mrs. Lydia Howard	1.00
Mr. Jacob Corin	.25
Collections	1.63

Contributions made to New York Headquarters:

Mrs. James D. Ellsworth.	5.00
Mrs. Calvin Tomkins	105.00
Mrs. Charles Pettinos	5.00
Mrs. William Floyd	10.00
Miss Thursby	25.00
Mrs. D. Weldinger	5.00
Mr. E. H. Sothern	100.00
Miss Julia Marlowe	100.00
Mrs. Charles Parmelee	11.50
Miss Cora A. Week	3.00
Mrs. Marcus M. Marks	5.00
Mrs. Sidney Borg	30.00
Mrs. James Byrne	10.00
Miss Alice Carpenter	15.00
Miss Beatrice Brown	15.00
Mrs. Clarence Stone	5.00
Mrs. Elijah Keehn	2.00
Mrs. Robert Niles, Jr.	13.00

Contributions Made to Pennsylvania Headquarters:

Anonymous	100.00
Mrs. Eva M. Knauer	11.00
Miss Mary T. Stecker	1.00
Mrs. S. M. Wirt	1.00
Miss Annette Eshner (collected)	2.25
Dr. Ruth Deeter	1.00
Mrs. Louis Snyder	1.00
Miss Innes Forbes	.25
Mrs. Charles Z. Klauder	5.00

Contributions made to Illinois Headquarters:

Mrs. Stella Cook	1.00
Mrs. Gertrude Cook	1.00
Miss A. S. Cleveland	1.00

Contributions Made to Colorado Headquarters:

Mrs. C. H. Baldwin	10.00
Mrs. S. F. Hamp	5.00
Mrs. C. P. Dodge	10.00
A Friend	5.00
Mrs. E. M. E. Solly	5.00
A. G. F.	10.00
A Friend	5.00
Total collected by Branches	1,092.38
Previously acknowledged in THE SUFFRAGIST	32,761.17
Total collected by Branches through May 19, 1917	$ 33,853.55
Grand Total	$267,059.47
Deduction:	
Transferred from Branch Headquarters to National Headquarters	1,349.50
Grand Net Total	$265,709.97

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